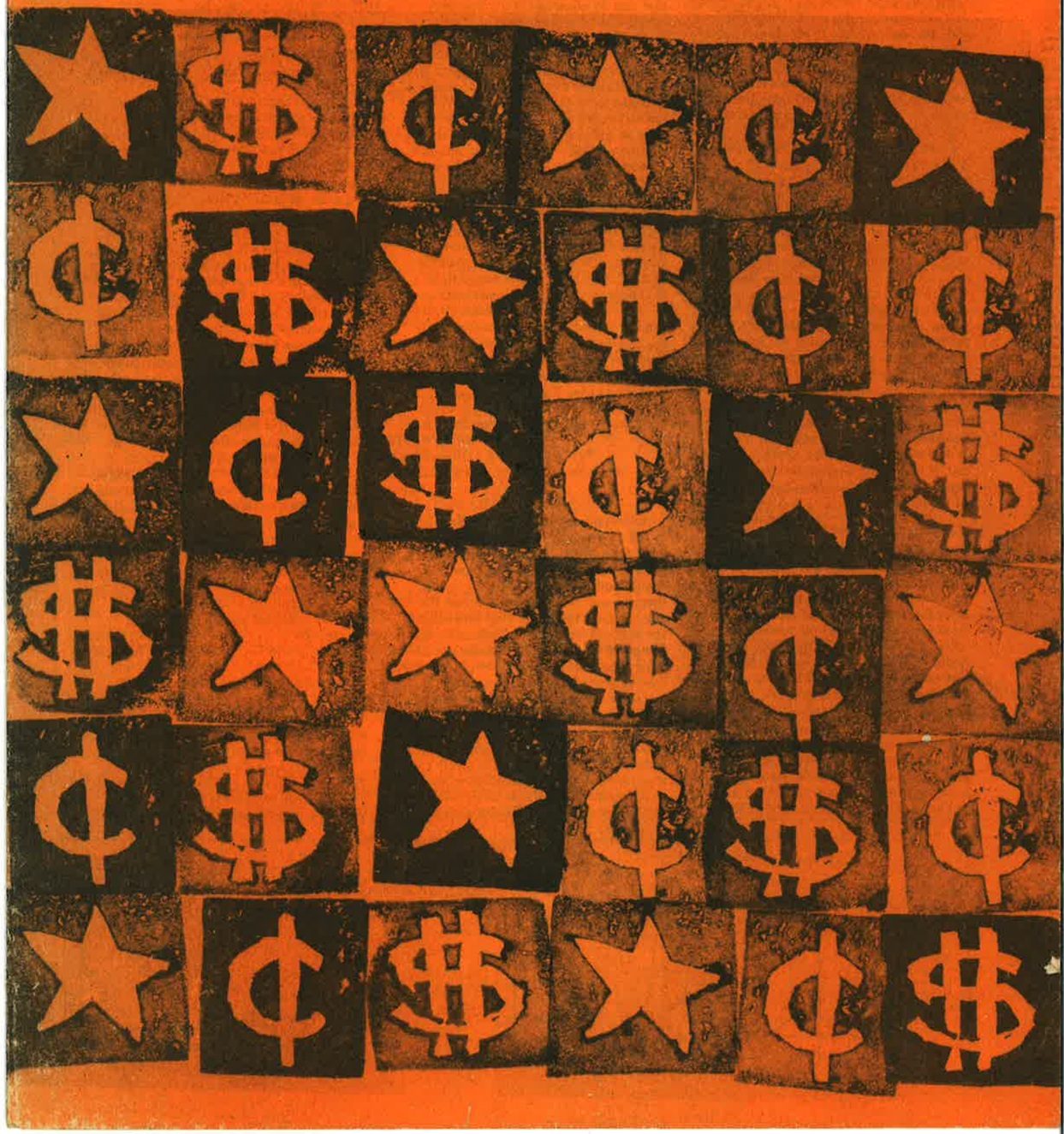
August 14, 1975 / 30¢

win

PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

HARD TIMES 2

LYND * McREYNOLDS
LENDLER * BARRETT



I went bananas today reading Dan Berrigan's remarks [WIN, 7/24/75] about Rosemary Reuther in his Middle East piece. His statement about "second rate minds with first rate egos" reveals a snide, petty attitude that has no place in Movement politics. What is painfully clear is that Dan is in the classic "no man's land" in regard to the women's movement—otherwise he would have dispensed with the 1st rate, 2nd rate hierarchical shit & the consciousness that produced that statement.

Feminism provides everyone with equal access to criticism & scholarship. One does not have to be a "saint or a scholar" to comb over the New Testament and come to certain conclusions. For that matter, one doesn't have to value what those saints & scholars have or have failed to discover in their study. Witness how negligent these same saints & scholars have been about women's role all these thousands of years.

The absolute zinger has to be the phrase, "learned lady." Please, Brother, get it together. As a woman in a movement we once shared I wonder if you're still running with me or any of my sisters or if we are on different tracks? Even bathrooms are changing from "Ladies" to "Women"—so stop the feudal, paternalistic, belittling bit & the accompanying attitude. It degrades me, Rosemary Reuther & yourself. It breeds the kind of divisivness that brings joy to Guy Goodwin & gentlemen of the night.

—ANNE WALSH
Stoughton, Mass.

I must indeed be a witch, because reading Daniel Berrigan's interview [WIN, 7/24/75], I felt the flames licking at my heels. How he managed to include an attack on Rosemary Reuther's analysis of the new testament and the pro-abortion movement within the confines of a discussion on the middle-east is a feat of Jesuitical virtuosity awesome to contemplate! No, I don't consider Mr. Berrigan responsible for the inquisition, nor do I think he is especially antisemitic, but I do remember that, in addition to Jews, millions of witches were liquidated by Catholics during the middle ages. I have not yet read Ms. Reuther's book, but intend to now that Mr. Berrigan so kindly called my attention to it. My guess is that his remark that "second rate minds are often the fruit of first rate egos" might more aptly apply to Mr. Berrigan, himself, and that he should look into it with some humility.

Strangely, Mr. Berrigan's obsession with the middle-east hasn't led him to concern himself about the other half of the Arab population—the slavery of women there. Israel's patriarchal aggression in that area will in no wise improve their lot, but it would be comforting to have *some* indication that Mr. Berrigan is not the total misogynist he appears to be.

As for rabbis sitting down to talk to priests, this is no real surprise: they're both in the same business, as Lenny Bruce observed. Perhaps it would be wise for Mr. Berrigan to consider a consciousness-raising session with Ms. Reuther and Mary Daly as well. I mean, not all the rabbis he's communed with have "first rate minds," do they?

Oh heresy, oh witchcraft, oh Jesus. . . why doesn't Mr. Berrigan devote some of his worthy pacifist attentions to the problems in Ireland? Let the Jewish and Arab women work together on the problems of Palestine. . .wouldn't that be a treat for a change? Shouldn't we encourage that? (They speak virtually the same language).

As I said above, I don't think Mr. Berrigan has demonstrated antisemitism, but since he is aware that his words have inflamed it in some Catholics, he has a responsibility to speak to these people and cool their ardor. To ignore the consequences of his words here, while dabbling in the middle-east, *would* indicate antisemitic intent.

—LEAH FRITZ
(the undead)
New York, NY

I am hesitant about adding another voice to the controversy on abortion but feel uneasy about the animosity this issue is causing between people who should be friends and allies. There is more to this than the question of when a human life begins. There is the question of power, and the rights of women over their own bodies. I know of no woman who would not consider abortion a serious matter, but to assert that human life begins at conception is conceptually to reach within her body and hold her captive to that life in her womb. Her freedom is restricted in a most drastic way, and in a way that men have historically claimed rights over women. In a very real and practical sense the freedom of women to make this their own moral decision is not assured today. Abortion is not always easy or available, and neither is it so secure that political and social actions could nor restrict it further.

The anger that comes from women is not that they do not value that life within them, but that they resent being told or being limited in what they can do, in their ability to exercise their own individuality and make their own moral decisions.

We should always be extremely careful of defining or limiting the individual moral choices of other people, especially when we never have, or could be, in the same position. Our concern should always try to be with the real human needs of the people we meet.

—DAVID E. WHITE
Somerville, Mass.

Re: Chuck Fager's hopes for "a serious reexamination" of abortion (what he calls "that area") on the left [WIN, 5/22/75] and his assertion that "the definite outlines of a liberal-left anti-abortion stance are beginning to emerge, and. . .we will be hearing more about it." [WIN, 7/24/75]

I think that Chuck Fager is accurate in reporting on a new case of nerves on the male-dominated left. Whereas not too long ago, male lefties could advocate liberalizing or repealing abortion laws, since there was an immediate benefit that would accrue to them (they could fuck around and not risk nasty paternity suits, shotgun marriages, child support payments, etc.), now it seems that some of these men are having second thoughts. And beneath the academic ethics, the (male) logic and objectivity, here is what I think some of those second thoughts really are: "If it truly is a woman's right to decide when and whether to birth a child (i.e., to make the decisions in a matter which most directly concerns her), I might not get to 'have' my son, my on-going self, my imitation me. Worse yet, if my mother had had that right, *I* might never have been born. But worst of all, if women keep claiming more and more rights to self-determination, who will be left to reassure me that I am a man (i.e., one whose rights to self-determination are privileged, by cultural definition and social and legal sanction)?"

—JOHN STOLTENBERG
New York, NY

Those reflecting on the recent events in Vietnam might find helpful the ageless wisdom of the *Tao Te Ching.* Chapter Thirty-one states in part:

Good weapons are instruments of fear; all creatures hate them.
Therefore followers of Tao never use them.
The wise man prefers the left.
The man of war prefers the right.
Weapons are instruments of fear; they are not a wise man's tools.
He uses them only when he has no choice.
Peace and quiet are dear to his heart,
And victory no cause for rejoicing.
If you rejoice in victory, then you delight in killing;
If you delight in killing, you cannot fulfill yourself. . . .
When many people are being killed,
They should be mourned in heartfelt sorrow.
That is why a victory must be observed like a funeral.

—LEO BURKE
Gary, Ind.

CORRECTIONS

Joffre Stewart wrote us pointing out these errors in Leslie Ann Brownrigg's article about him [WIN, 6/19/75]:

1. ". . .the author fuses several poetry readings with one which did rove 'from berth to berth' and which I did not always head up."

2. Stewart learned about CORE during an earlier detention while being processed at Central Police Station for having refused to respond to induction notices. He had no cellmate in D cage.

3. "Persons who destroyed draft files in Evanston & Berwyn eventually were apprehended."

4. Stewart was arrested on Lincoln, six blocks from Fullerton and Halsted in the Lincoln arrest.

He also adds: "DAY 3 IN MY 30 DAY HIROSHIMA FAST FROM TAXED ALCOHOLIC DRINK IN THE YEAR OF THE BOMB—XXX. The language you suggested is OK for the errors attented to but more errors need correction.

5. The handwritten draft for a WRL tax-refusal leaflet was already handwritten prior to the afternoon it was quickprinted.

6. In re: the North Atlantic in 1944-45, depth charges, not "death" charges.

7. I was sent back from Europe directly to hospitals in the South before later being shipped to one in the Chicago area (not Chicago).

8. In re: getting a haircut: integration is not the word I wd use. I regard myself as attempting to desegregate that barbershop in 1949. Racism being as persistent as it is in Chicago, I don't know whether that barbershop ever became desegregated or integrated.

9. Regarding the Student Peace Union, the sentence structure can be misleading if it leads one to think that there was an SPU organization at Roosevelt U. There were SPU individuals like Tor Faegre.

10. It is important to note that Finke & Chernow regard themselves as 2/4 of the present Omega printing operation, not 2/2, as implied by the article. They think of one of their partners, Bob Freeston, as being more identified with CADRE and its past than the name "Omega" which derives from that past.

With three friends who also work with Movement for a New Society, I arrived July 31st for a visit at the WIN farm to find the electricity out in the barn/office/living quarters. This meant no typesetting machine as well as no fan for the 95° heat. The next day we helped dig a trench to uncover the cable the electrician felt may have been damaged. No luck. A new cable may have to be strung, a new pole put up. Or else the WINners might be in for a lot of digging. Then they'll have to do something about the refrigerator whose moter seems to have burnt out due to low voltage.

All this happened on the day WIN was going to try to do something about the overdue phone bill, overdue printing bill, overdue salaries—everything overdue. (It was also the day Murray and Susan P. went into Kingston to get Susan's car repaired, only to have the radiator in Murray's van burst. But that's another story.)

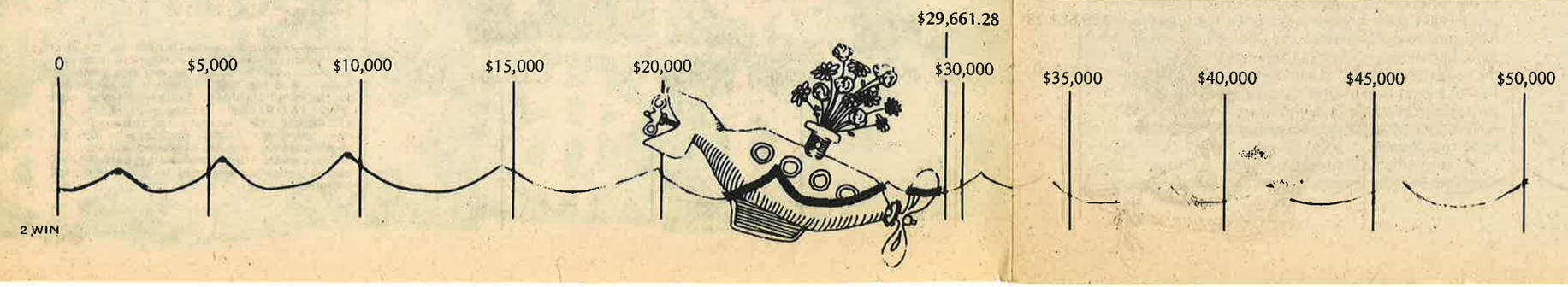
Despite all this—plus lightening knocking out the telephones the next night (fixed in 18 hours)—this WIN is coming to you on schedule, to enlighten and amuse you, as WIN does every week. If where you are life has not been quite so complicated recently, won't you share your good fortune with those hard-working folks at WIN.

—George Carns
Madison, Wisconsin

SUMMER BREAK

After this issue we'll be taking our regular summer break. In addition to digging up the electric lines, we'll use this time to catch up on office work as well as get a little rest. Some of us will be travelling out to Parkville, Missouri for WRL's national conference. Hope to see you there! The next issue of WIN will have a cover date of September 18, copy deadline September 5.

—The WIN Staff



August 14, 1975 / Vol. XI, No. 29

Cover: Potato print by Mark Morris

STAFF

Maris Cakars • Susan Cakars • Chuck Fager
Mary Mayo • Mark Morris • Susan Pines
Fred Rosen • Murray Rosenblith

UNINDICTED
CO-CONSPIRATORS

Jan Barry • Lance Belville • Tom Brucker
Jerry Coffin • Lynne Coffin • Ann Davidon
Diana Davies • Ruth Dear • Ralph DiGia
Brian Doherty • William Douthard • Karen Durbin
Seth Foldy • Jim Forest • Leah Fritz • Larry Gara
Joan Libby Hawk • Neil Haworth • Ed Hedemann
Grace Hedemann • Hendrik Hertzberg • Karla Jay
Marty Jezer • Becky Johnson • Nancy Johnson
Paul Johnson • Allison Karpel • Craig Karpel
John Kyper • Elliot Linzer • Jackson Mac Low
David McReynolds • David Morris • Jim Peck
Tad Richards • Igal Roodenko • Nancy Rosen
Ed Sanders • Wendy Schwartz • Martha Thomases
Art Waskow • Allen Young • Beverly Woodward

Box 547 / Rifton / New York 12471
Telephone: 914-339-4585

WIN is published weekly except for the first two weeks in January, the last week in March, the first week in June, the last two weeks in August, and the first two weeks in September by the WIN Publishing Empire with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are $11.00 per year. Second class postage paid at New York, NY 10001. Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given. Sorry—manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope.

ABOR?

things the movement believed in the early '60's.

A strange thing has been happening. Movement survivors, scorning participatory democracy as a petty-bourgeois ideology long outgrown, have taken jobs in factories to preach Marxism-Leninism to the workers. For their part, the workers want to talk about participatory democracy. Needless to say the conversation has been halting.

What do I mean, they want to talk about participatory democracy? For instance:

Our union was created from the top down. We've been saddled with a "Big Daddy will take care of you, we'll make the decisions, pie in the sky" sort of thing.

It sticks in our craw not having the right to ratify contracts.

We have to learn how to say "No." The average guy in the mill thinks he can't say "No," he's got to go along with the big shot. The company has a boss over him. The union has a boss over him. . .So where do the people show any fight any more? They've got to learn how to do this all over again.[3]

The best articulation of the conclusion that working people want what the movement talked about in the early '60's is in a just-published article by Steve Packard. Steve worked in a steel mill for six months. When he went to work he was a member of a Marxist-Leninist sect, but his experience while at work convinced him to leave it. Summing up, Steve writes:

I think the deepest needs of my friends here, the needs that require radical changes, are those same unclear things that brought me into the Movement long ago. I felt then that history was ready for the development of a whole new kind of person. Somehow things like community, art, sex roles, justice, participatory democracy, creativity—somehow things like this were almost remolded into a new vision.

Around 1970 I began to forget or abandon those politics. But that newer, free-er, wider, higher vision is what the average people need. It's the only thing that Billy and my other friends could really throw their lives into.[4]

II

So far, all I've said is that working people are like other Americans, wanting the same things and naturally using the same words.

Why, then, a special importance for labor?

A cardinal feature of the civil-rights and anti-war movements was the ability to isolate and focus on the simple relationship at the heart of the larger social issue.

Thus "civil rights," an abstraction, became the human act of walking to the registrar's office and asking to register to vote.

In the same way, the war became the draft. The war, we said, *is* the draft. "Unless you can draft people, you can't run your obscene war. And we're going to stop you from drafting people."

In both cases there was an over-simplification, as there always is in singling out part of a whole. The draft was not the whole of the war. Nixon was able to run the war with air power alone for several years after we had more or less closed off the option of escalated draft calls.

Yet, in neither case were we essentially wrong. We had hold of the gist of the situation. By concentrating on the essential moving part, we were able to have leverage on the whole machine.

Now there is a consensus that a new or regrouped movement must go beyond single issues and confront the capitalist scheme of institutions as a whole. But the "capitalist scheme of institutions" is an abstraction. How to get at it? How to begin?

In the same way that civil rights *was* the right to vote, and the war *was* the draft, I think capitalism *is* the employer-employee relationship.

The vision of what is and what can be that I would like to see broadcast by a new movement—would contrast our society's democratic ideology with the undemocratic, arbitrary power which private employers have over those who work for them.

For instance, the American Revolution happened because the British Parliament declared:

That the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and the people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.[5]

Naturally, you say. That's intolerable! No American would stand for it!

Why, then, do so many Americans stand, and indeed run, bow, and scrape, for the following:

The company retains the exclusive right to manage the business and plants and to direct the working forces. The rights to manage the business and plants and to direct the working forces include the right to hire, suspend or discharge for proper cause, or transfer, and the right to relieve employees from duty because of lack of work or for other legitimate reasons.[6]

In a word, they can fire us, but we can't fire them. Is this democratic? Of course not. But Americans are so deeply habituated to thinking of the employer's power as "management," something quite different from "government," that it takes much patient conversation, experimental action, painful learning—all those things which a social movement should do and be—before the dollar signs drop from our eyes, and we see the arbitrary power of the boss as a systematic insult to democracy and to us.

The power of the boss means that when we leave the parking lot and punch in we leave behind us most of our rights as citizens.

On the outside, you are innocent till proven guilty. On the inside, you are fired first, and then have the burden of showing why you should not have been.

On the outside, even high school students can (thanks to the movement of the '60's) wear political buttons and arm bands while "at work." Try doing this on the assembly line, and according to the law and the National Labor Relations Board, you can be canned.

The point I am trying to make is, not that workers are special, but that the employer-employee relationship is the heart and essence of the problem a new movement must try to solve.

Every time an employee straightens his or her back and says "No" at the risk of being fired, capitalism is that much weaker.

Every time a worker ceases to seek gratification and promotion from the boss, and seeks approval instead from his or her fellow-workers, a brick in the new society has been laid.

Like the song says:

In our hands there is a power greater than their hoarded gold,
Greater than the power of armies magnified a thousandfold,
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old,
For our union makes us strong.[7]

III

Surprise! You too are a worker.

If there is any reader of these remarks who does not now, has not in the recent past, or will not in the near future, have to work for a boss to make a living, I will be surprised (and that person is fortunate).

Surely, this is what it means that we have ceased to be a student movement: we too are workers.

To repeat, any one who sells his or her labor power for a time to another, giving that other more-or-less arbitrary power to order, for that time, his or her labor—is a worker.

This discovery has often been misunderstood, I think. Sometimes people say: "Right on! And now that we know we too are workers, we need no longer worry about the labor movement, and can return, guilt-free, to doing our thing."

It is true that white-collar workers, teachers, law clerks, laboratory technicians, nurses, and (save for the absence of a boss) the editorial staff of WIN, are workers.

It is not true that this recognition relieves us of the responsibility of beginning and sustaining a conversation with other workers.

It should make the conversation easier to know that our employment scars—the humiliating job applications, the firings, the blacklistings, the times when we swallowed our dignity and obeyed, the times when we didn't—are as real as anyone else's.

But the conversation should be carried on in an awareness that, while all Americans use the same political language (and in this sense have no class culture), yet there are profound cultural differences between different groups of American workers which must be translated-across, if not overcome, if a genuinely mass movement is to be born.

How can anyone learn those cultural nuances? There is no need to "learn" them in a sense different than the other person is learning your sub-culture. The real point, in my opinion, is dramatically simple:

The seed groups of a new movement should not be begun by first bringing together a nucleus of survivors of the movement of the '60's, and then, as a second step, reaching out to "the others."

Rather, each of us should plant that seed with one or more others who were not part of the movement of the '60's, but who, through working (or studying, or living) together, we have come to feel/share the same values.

If a group is begun by calling together one's old movement friends, a dynamic is set up which makes it harder and harder for new people to join in.

From the very first meeting, most of those in the room should be the kind of person whom one hopes to be a majority of the movement when it is fully built.

If this simple rule is rigorously observed, problems of sub-culture translation will take care of themselves.

"Organizing," in this context, is a natural and human, rather than a strained and artificial, undertaking.[8] We seek to solve common problems that arise on the job. As we do so, it becomes clear that the only sensible way to solve the problems is to run things ourselves.

1. The first incident is related by Lieutenant William Barton of the First New Jersey Regiment, and retold in REBELS AND REDCOATS, ed. Scheer and Rankin, pp. 405-06. The second incident will be found in Joseph Plum Martin, A NARRATIVE OF THE ADVENTURES, DANGERS AND SUFFERINGS OF A REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER.

2. Alice and Staughton Lynd, ed., RANK AND FILE: PERSONAL HISTORIES BY WORKING-CLASS ORGANIZERS, Beacon Press, $3.95 (paper).

3. RANK AND FILE, pp. 267-68 (condensed slightly).

4. Steve Packard, "Steel Mill Blues," LIBERATION, May 1975.

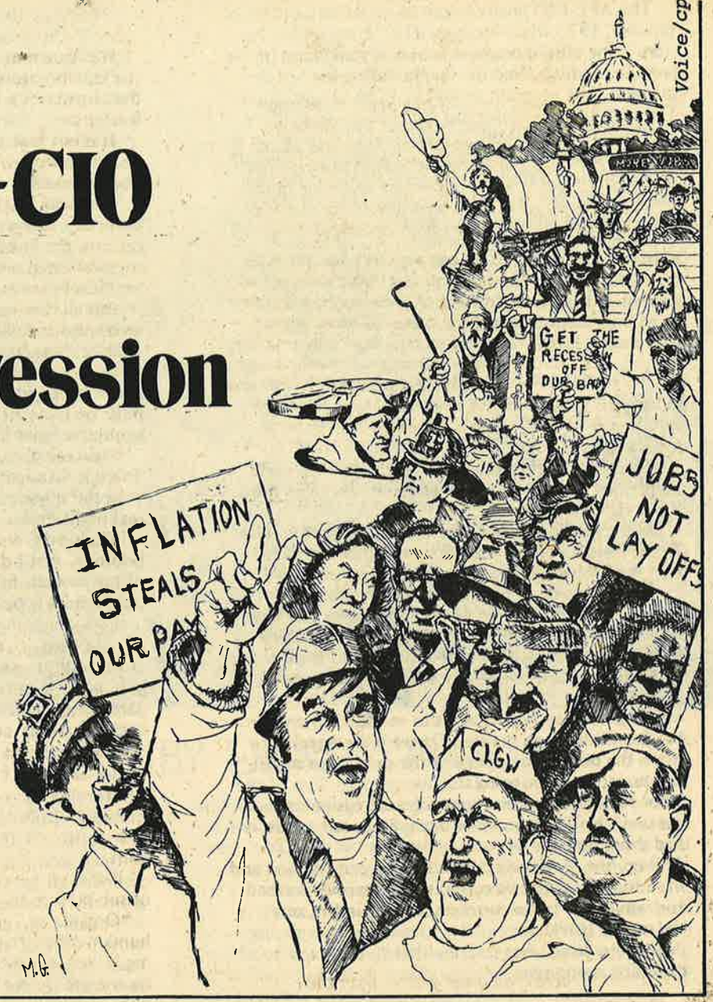
5. The Declaratory Act of 1766.

6. Management prerogative clause, Basic Steel Contract. Most union contracts have a similar clause.

7. "Solidarity Forever." I believe the song originally said, "For the Union makes us strong." Presumably this referred to the "One Big Union" which the IWW was trying to build and to be. I think it is faithful to the original intent to say "our union" (small "u"), meaning, our unity.

8. The same issue of LIBERATION which contains Steve Packard's article includes some modest and helpful thoughts about on-the-job organizing.

The AFL-CIO and the New Depression



BY Ernest Lendler

The economic crisis of the last few years—a combination of recession, inflation and high corporate profits, an impossibility according to traditional economic thinking—has confused most of us. Only six years ago the unemployment rate was 3.3%, the inflation rate was 4.2%, and the gross national product was constantly climbing. Today, the national unemployment rate is almost 10%, inflation is over 10%, and the gross national product dropped 9.3% in the last three months of 1974 and continues to fall. Six years ago, in 1969, Richard Nixon, taking the advice of conservative economists led by Arthur Burns, decided the 4.2% annual inflation rate was too high, and while business approved and labor watched, he took appropriate action.

The goal was to reduce inflation by slowing down the economy through "tight money and high interest rates." Quickly unemployment began to rise (according to plan), but higher interest rates only increased inflation, businessmen passed on the higher cost of money to consumers, and corporate profits rose. In 1971, a patch was placed on the cracking economy with the so-called controls on wages and prices. Wages increases were held down, but profits and prices soared.

During all this the organized labor movement was essentially silent, except for an occasional loud noise and protest resolutions. Part of the reason for this silence and lack of affirmative action is that there is not a unified labor movement, and organized labor is not as strong as we are constantly led to believe. Less then 25% of the non-managerial workforce belongs to labor unions, and only approximately 18% to AFL-CIO unions. The remainder of the organized workforce belongs to independent unions such as the United Mine Workers, United Automobile Workers, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), United Electrical Workers, Locomotive Engineers and Distributive Workers. Even within the AFL-CIO there is opposition to the policies and non-action of the federation and its president, George Meany. At best, George Meany and the official AFL-CIO statements actually represent less than half of organized labor (about 10% of the total workforce). Although George Meany hardly represents the labor movement, he and the AFL-CIO receive all the attention.

Ernest Lendler is a free lance writer and consultant to a New York City based trade union.

The AFL-CIO finally began to take some action in January, 1975 when it released its "Program for Action." The official program is basically a rehash of the New Deal which filled the cracks during the last depression. The program includes a little of everything: Tax cuts for individuals and cuts in corporate taxes to stimulate investment. A reduction in interest rates. Federal funds for new housing construction. Revitalization of mass transit and modernization of the railroads. Some, but not extensive, tax reform. Federal loans to cities and states. Extending the time for implementation of environmental protections. A quota on oil imports with no imports from the Arab countries. Import quotas to protect jobs and US industries from unfair foreign competition. And, most importantly, a full scale program of public service employment.

As far as it goes, the "Program for Action" looks pleasant enough on paper but, except for the public service employment section, is essentially to be ignored. The AFL-CIO itself is spending time only on the concept of public service jobs as its actions and "fighting slogan" *Jobs for All* indicate. It is straight out of the New Deal, with references to the Work Project Administration (WPA) and similar New Deal programs filling AFL-CIO publications. Unfortunately it is no longer 1935 and FDR isn't the President.

The AFL-CIO program and actions have all the attributes of running in place. There appears to be action and an expenditure of energy, but there is no motion. No campaign is being directed either at the members of organized labor or the general public in support of the limited program. No effort has been made to develop new answers or rethink old ones in the face of the new realities. There is no attempt to make the better parts of the program a "movement," and no stress on bringing the unorganized 75% of the labor force into trade unions (organizing the unorganized). Local programs or actions are not sponsored and those pursued by local unions are not assisted. And no one in AFL-CIO officialdom seems to be taking a hard look at who owns and controls America and why there is the current economic crisis, or at, as the recent ILWU convention stated, the "deepening depression [that] has severely shaken the stability of capitalist economies."

Ever since a losing battle against the Taft-Hartley Law in the late 1940's, organized labor hasn't attempted to lead or even take part in a national political campaign of any nature. The AFL-CIO, after purging as many leftists as they could discover in the 1950's, has spent the last 25 years becoming a fixture in Washington, busy lobbying Congress, electing "friends of labor," but no organizing, and thus not growing.

Besides the near disasterous April 26 Rally for Jobs, the AFL-CIO is continuing its 25 years of non-action and proposing solutions the leadership has remembered for 40 years. The *AFL-CIO News* of May 17 stated in an article entitled "Labor Carries Fight for Jobs to Public": "Labor's message—expressed in hard-hitting Congressional testimony by AFL-CIO President George Meany and in newspaper advertisements in eight cities—was that jobs represent 'the only solution' to America's economic ailments." and urged union members to "write their Senators and Representatives."

However the AFL-CIO cannot be expected to supply the program, direction or actions to deal with the economic crisis. Their only activity prior to the "Program for Action," was trying to elect a "veto-proof" Congress, Democratic Party affiliation being their only criteria. The AFL-CIO's current muddled efforts will not bring about "Jobs for All" no matter how much sense such a program might make.

One has to look not to the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington but to individual unions and locals, both affiliated to the AFL-CIO and independent, to find direct actions, new thinking and even some criticism of capitalism. District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (AFL-CIO), has led protests against higher utility rates in New Jersey and has held a conference of union stewards on the economic crisis which supported nationalization of the oil industry and cuts in military spending. The West Coast Longshoremen (ILWU) convention called for nationalization of oil, an end to "corporate tax evaders" and to "using US military muscle to make the world 'safe' for US investors," and even unconditional amnesty. Such unions as District 65 (Distributive Workers); American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO); and District 1199 are leading full scale organizing drives; and a growing number of local unions are using strikes to prevent layoffs.

Although significant, these actions by unions both within the AFL-CIO and independent have not been coordinated and have been further isolated and denied impact because of a near total lack of media attention. The media almost always focuses only on the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington and its President, George Meany, continually reinforcing in the public mind the image of a recumbent stultified labor movement. The AFL-CIO will testify in front of more Congressional committees, continue buying ads and holding press conferences all to promote a new New Deal jobs program they cannot begin to implement. More formidable direct action, bringing the unrepresented 75% of the workforce into the organized labor movement and the beginnings of a new labor approach to the economic realities of America will have to wait.

labor newsletter/cpf

Photo by David Fenton/LNS.

BY David McReynolds

Hard times surround us. A murderous foreign policy weighs upon the conscience of every informed radical. We are not searching for evils with a microscope—they loom under us, in front of us, and over us. The problem is not seeing the problem, but finding ways of dealing with it.

Let me begin where most of us began. White and middle class. I write that not as a put down but simply as a statement of fact, a starting point which helps to explain something of our strength, and of our weakness. We are not, with few exceptions, sons and daughters of workers. We may live in poverty but we were not raised in it. Our childhood and early youth were sufficiently secure and affluent that we can turn our backs on the affluent society. But that decision, which leads some of us to communes and some of us to slums in the various cities of the nation, does not make proletarians of us. Even in our poverty we know the weapons available for our survival: clinics and how to use them, friendly lawyers and legal defense associations, parents or friends in the middle and upper classes who will come forward on our behalf when needed or shelter us if we want a respite from our communes and slums.

I may occupy an apartment in a slum, but what marks me out as different from the men and women who share my building with me, and who live in apartments identical to my own, is that while their windows open onto grimy air shafts, and their doors open upon a grimy street and their day stretches out to welfare offices or hard and alienating labor or to the task of tending children, from my window you can see Paris, and when I walk out the door it may be to step forth on a street in San Francisco or Philadelphia or Tokyo. Let us, therefore, have no illusions about the situation in which we have placed ourselves: for us there is always hope, options, inner realities of education and training, and these things mark us off from those among whom we move and with whom we may make the error of confusing ourselves. We may work for a living but yet are not "workers." We may have no money but yet are not "poor" in the sense of that poverty which riddles the lives of those on our blocks.

How and why each of us found ourselves in the radical movement is something only a series of autobiographies could answer. But in part we have found ourselves where we are because we believed the values society taught us, and rebelled against a society which violated the values it worked so hard to instill. Or, more accurately, something in us, some stroke of luck or fact of health (or neurosis—you can take your pick) gave us the willingness to choose among the values offered us, and to choose those values that made rebels of us.

Let me spell out how our movement toward radical social change differs from that, for example, of Southern blacks. We were not born into a class of oppressed people. (Even the most forceful advocate of women's liberation, or the most militant of gay

---

David McReynolds is on the staff of the War Resisters League, a frequent contributor to WIN, and one of the editors of these Hard Times issues. The second part of this article will be printed in September.

liberationists, was born into a situation of substantial privilege if contrasted to women or homosexuals born into the working class). We did not view the police as enemies but as employees, as protectors. The Bill of Rights was written for *us*, and when we found the State in violation of it, our response was less fear than anger. Contrast this with the position of a Southern black born into the Jim Crow structure that existed intact only twenty years ago. That young man or woman grew up in a situation where it was taken for granted that the police were agents to enforce the laws *against* the black community. The Bill of Rights (and the whole of the Constitution) was never intended for blacks. The tumult of the Civil Rights movement was centered entirely on the struggle of Southern blacks to gain for themselves certain rights (voting, public accomodations) that were automatically enjoyed by the rest of us.

Our actions flowed from a sense of moral outrage, not of class necessity. We fought to extend to others the rights we ourselves already had. This was true of the Civil Rights movement and equally true of the Vietnam movement. It was always a lie—a stupid and easily disproven lie—that the cadre of draft resisters were seeking their own way out of military service. Each of the young men who risked prison had abundant resources by which legal exemptions could have been secured. The choice of resistance was a moral one, not a necessary survival response. We opposed the Vietnam war because we felt it wrong—not because we would die fighting in it.

Our actions often had massive blind spots. We could see the Vietnam situation (because it confronted us on tv every night) and identify with the Vietnamese. Yet often the young militants who demonstrated in Chicago, in Washington, and in a thousand spots around the country, could not see the blacks in their own slums and ghettoes because those aspects of reality were not illuminated each night on television.

We made our way forward very slowly. Our education was paid for largely by others—the Vietnamese, for example. It is a characteristic of the middle class that when first confronted by criminal behavior on the part of the State (or any of the agencies the State represents—corporations, church, *etc.*), it denies the behavior is criminal. We could not at first really believe the evils with which we were confronted. If a black youth was shot to death in the ghetto surely the blame must rest with the youth—police officers would not fire without reason. If bombs killed some civilians in Vietnam that was unfortunate but the real problem rested with agents of disorder trained in Moscow. If the unemployment rate is high, it is because many people do not really want to work. That murder should actually be *planned*, that unemployment might be *policy* determined by powerful economic forces, would be unthinkable.

When it became clear to us that in fact some police did shoot without cause, that some wars had no "just basis," our response was that something had come momentarily unhinged in the system—not that the system itself needed to be changed. If we were unhappy with events in Chile, fire Kissinger. If we had had bad luck with Presidents, elect a woman. If local cops were brutal, get a new chief of police. Because each of these notions has merit, they are hard to argue with. One must, in fact, agree with them even knowing they fail to touch the basic problem.

The last thing we want to take up on our agenda is the need to transform social and economic institutions. We think first of changing the elites in charge of the apparatus. Firing evil men and replacing them with good men or women. We will dump LBJ. We will impeach Nixon. We will boycott South African diamonds. *We have an almost instinctive class reaction against revolutionary change.* I remember very well that the peace movement came momentarily unstuck and certain elements withdrew—such as Robert Pincus and the World Without War grouping—precisely at the point it was clear many of us had begun to move toward *challenging the system* which generated the war in Vietnam, *and not simply that particular war.* That momentary confusion and division which took place in the early '60's was masked with issues such as anti-Communism, the need to oppose violence, etc. (*Ie.*, how could any of us call for US withdrawal from Vietnam when that meant a Communist victory and when such a withdrawal would mean a victory by *violent* revolutionary forces?)

There was a generally pointless effort to find any possible middle ground in which the war might be ended without revolutionary change. Various radicals from the '30's looked and saw the direction in which the youth were marching and instead of suggesting ways to make the march easier, swifter, and more certain, placed themselves in opposition to it. They were put off by the drugs, the sex, the music. Only a few, such as the late Sam Coleman, could find the political and psychological insight to relate their own "Old Left" positions with the angry voices on the campus and keep open a dialogue. Generally the movement against American social institutions deeply frightened people who had thought of themselves as radicals. As events of the '50's and '60's generated revolutionary attitudes among younger people, so it drove many in the Old Left toward very conservative politics.

But the "movement" itself was typically middle class in the way if finally engaged the system in combat. We had begun by assuming the system could be reformed. As it became clear the structure itself was the source of the problem, and that changing the leadership resolved nothing—that LBJ was as murderous as Goldwater, and JFK the creator of the Green Berets—we sought either personal salvation from the chaos and evil in which we seemed engulfed, or we sought "instant revolution." Keep in mind that the very nature of our response to the system was personal, that we were driven by values, not necessity, and it is not so surprising that so many sought escape in LSD, like my friend Peter Stafford, one of the apostles of the drug culture, who could seriously leap over the fact of rats in Harlem buildings and urge LSD as the universal solvent in which all problems would vanish. (It is an interesting sociological note that the "mind changing" drugs were not popular with ghetto youth, who preferred the nirvana of smack to the risks of seeing even more of their reality with LSD). It is not surprising that Rennie Davis ended up a follower of the guru, that youth fled into Hare Krishna mantras, or became Children of God. Nor is it surprising that so far as I know most of those involved in these new religious groups are middle class and not the children of workers. It is not even surprising that the women in the movement turned on the men—a secondary target but one more easily at hand—rather than upon the basic social structure. We had men's consciousness raising groups, women's consciousness raising groups, gay liberation workshops, human sensitivity sessions. All valid. All having merit. And all essentially middle class and, in profound ways, deflections from the struggle to overturn the basic structure.

Since I am attacking some of the current sacred cows of the movement (it has become almost an act of courage to raise questions about women's and gay liberation movements), let me say I accept the merit of these movements, I recognize they are dealing with real problems, and no revolution would be authentic that denied the issues these movements are raising. To point out that the Civil Rights movement in the '50's and '60's or the Vietnamese liberation struggle gave little time to these isuses, or that that United Farm Workers give little time to them now, is not an answer at all—only a statement that these three movements overlooked important problems with which they should have been concerned. But I would maintain these are secondary movements, not a substitute for a serious thrust at the basic structure of society.

One can salute the formation of communes and food collectives and still suggest these are not a substitute for revolution—only, at their best, an aspect of a serious revolutionary movement. These all—communes, collectives, consciousness raising, religious groupings, drug experiments—were forms of individual response to the social crisis.

There was the other response, the organized confrontational response of the '60's. This, too, was a response shaped by the middle class nature of our movement. It was spasmodic, founded on certain illusions, and when it failed it too swiftly gave way to the more individual responses discussed above. We began with Teach-Ins, because we honestly believed that if only people could be taught what we knew—if only the government itself could be informed of the facts in our possession—policy would be changed. Surely Kennedy and Rusk and Rostow would not deliberately murder people in Vietnam. *If only people knew the facts!* Surely workers would not build instruments of death if they knew the facts. Surely troops would desert rather than kill innocent people. If only people knew the facts. But there are facts and then there are other facts. Workers, for example, were not able to pick and choose their jobs. To refuse military contracts meant the mortage would go unpaid. For workers to make a moral response to the rather (to them) abstract issues involving death in a distant country would have quite immediate and (to them) devastating results in their own lives—loss of work. For troops to desert meant prison. For a black youth to refuse conscription meant a felon's record with far different implications on future employment and possible success than such a record would mean for a middle class white youth.

This left us often with a certain contempt, a certain sense of elitism, and with a tendency to act as if we had power rather than as if our task was how to build a genuine base of power. Three examples:

(1) During the Chicago trial there was a mass student anti-war conference in Cleveland, in the course of which one of the young men working on the Chicago trial came and reported to us, and observed how unjust it was that the fate of our leaders, exceptional men such as Dellinger and Hoffman and Rubin, rested in the hands of a jury of "mere" white workers, of reactionary, racist, rank and file American citizens. What the young man was saying was that *our* leaders ought not to be judged by the very American public for which we so often claimed to speak. I suspect he was astonished when that—and other—juries baffled the government by refusing to bring in the string of convictions on which Mitchell had counted.

(2) Again, during the '60's we had the "Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples" in Washington, which produced the dramatic photograph of Staughton Lynd and Dave Dellinger getting splashed with red paint. The original title of that project was cute—and symbolic of where our collective heads were at. It was C.O.U.P.—Congress of Unrepresented People. The objections of some of us to the implications of the title "COUP" resulted in it being called an Assembly. Now, if we had said *we* are not represented by Congress, and small as we may be, were in Washington to remind the American people that Congress does not

That dramatic photo of Dave Dellinger, Staughton Lynd and Bob Moses splashed with paint.

speak for us, that would have been legitimate. But we tended with unconscious elitism to assume we could in fact speak for *all* Americans (except, of course, white racists, Uncle Tom blacks, complacent youth, reactionary old people, and the culturally backward middle class—*i.e.*, the majority of America). The unhappy fact was that Congress, corrupt as it was, reactionary as it was, represented more people than we did. We were an Assembly of *some* unrepresented people. We were a very long way from being able to speak *for the people as a whole* or even for any major segment of them.

(3) We burned our people out with illusions of potency we did not possess. Each action was the "ultimate" action. Each action was sold on the basis that it would succeed simply because it had to succeed. This is a theme that ran through our actions all the way from the submarine jumping in New London to the Maydays in Washington. It was—or should have been—obvious that the courageous assaults on the Polaris submarine could *only have been symbolic*—part of a program to enlist broader public support (which, incidentally, happened.) But people often felt that by their actions, by their willingness to take the total risk of drowning in the chill waters of New London, they could *actually* stop the Polaris program and when they found out the fish of death were released to patrol the seas there was a feeling of failure. Again, the Maydays could not possibly have "closed down the government." In fact they didn't even slow traffic. We hurled 30,000 courageous youth against the might of Nixon's government on the basis that this action would really work: If you don't close down the war, we will close down the government. The war continued. The government functioned. Many of our people were disillusioned because they had been oversold. Rennie Davis, certainly one of the most charismatic of the youth leaders, tended to sell each march, each demonstration, and the final convulsion of the Maydays, as if that action would end the war.

We acted because we had a certain illusion of power. We came from the same class as those who ran the machinery of death. We often went to the same colleges they had attended. We acted on the assumption that these men of power were reachable, either morally or because the weight of our numbers would frighten them. When we failed, our ranks thinned. After the Maydays they disintegrated. For the most part we sought to confront power as if we had power. Our demonstrations were organized around and directed at the conventions of the major parties, not at establishing some political base of our own. Were we so very different from the Children of Israel who marched around the walls of Jericho, thinking that our rock music would cause the walls of power to tumble?

Let me make certain that my comments are not wrenched out of context. This is not an article written to be delivered into the hands of the enemies of the movement and used against us. If I am critical of what we did—what I, along with others, did—nothing written here should detract from the power we did possess. I recently read Michael Harrington's social autobiography and found he could discuss the '60's and early '70's without ever realizing that the power of change was in our hands—not in the hands of those who stood above the battle. I have suggested the limits of what we did, but within those limits we did vastly better than our detractors. The demonstration in Washington immediately after the invasion of Cambodia limited Nixon's options. The inner councils of the government trembled at our numbers. We might have been diffuse and often in error, we made countless mistakes, but at least we were in motion and moving with a force and power that curbed the power of the government.

For those of us who were within the movement to examine our mistakes is in order. For those who stood off at a safe distance and justified their inaction by seeing only our errors have less than an honorable sense of the history through which the nation has passed.

My crucial point is not at all to suggest the Maydays were wrong. Only to suggest that our troops would not have been so demoralized if they had been trained in the knowledge that this was only *one* of many necessary battles, had they entered combat without any illusion that victory would be ours in that hour. The Vietnamese, whose method was armed struggle, knew that many battles would be fought and most would be lost, with victory far distant. Each encounter was part of a process, not some puritanical struggle between good and evil in which the good would win, once and for all time. Why did we, committed to nonviolence, not better understand how complex the struggle was, how distant our goal, and how many battles we must lose before we could hope to win our "war"?

Within the context that we operated, the Maydays were an extraordinary victory. That so many young people felt it was a defeat suggests that more had been expected than had been possible. That Rennie Davis turned to a guru was somehow logical, part of the middle class search for instant solutions and salvations, of spasmodic involvement in struggle.

Let me contrast our actions, which used the rhetoric of revolution and thereby disillusioned our people, with the tactics of Bayard Rustin during the Civil Rights period. Rustin is now sitting "in the camp of the enemy" and it is risky to suggest we examine the merits of what he did in the '50's and early '60's. But he acted with the advice and support of A. J.

Photo by Nell Pablo.

Muste in a limited way for limited gains. He never sold each action as the final action. He knew that there was then no hope of revolution. The objective was simple: to create sufficient political force to compel federal intervention on behalf of the Southern blacks. All the way from the Madison Square Garden rallies, to the Washington Prayer Pilgrimages, to the final massive March on Washington in 1963, Rustin's target was creating a political force that would compel federal protection for blacks. He was perfectly aware such action was hopelessly limited—that it would not provide jobs, would not deal with the economic basis of racism, *etc.* But within the infintely repressive context of American racism, Rustin set specific targets that could be achieved, mobilized his forces for a long march, and in alliance with Martin Luther King gained those limited targets. The point Rusin understood—and that in a sense we did not understand—was that revolution was not immediately possible, only reform within a structure that ultimately needed to be changed.

Today even Rustin's old allies, such as Michael Harrington, have deserted him, and I think his present position is one where he ended up trapped by the structure rather than able to effect further change. But for that period he met his targets and reached them. We reached our target almost by accident—preaching revolutionary change, we managed only to reform American policy enough to end the direct involvement in Vietnam. We could not save Allende, only protest against his murder. And now, at the point of the deepest economic crisis since the Great Depression, the movement of the '60's is shattered, finding refuge in communes, in consciousness raising groups, and in odd little Marxist sects that speak and think and write with such remarkable dogma that one knows they exist outside of social reality.

But I believe we are, hopefully, only pausing before the next step. And that step is, very broadly defined, revolution. I do not mean the planting of bombs, the seizure of tv stations, sudden insurrection. But I do mean fundamental change in the social and economic institutions that make up America. I do not think we could have taken on this task unless we had first been broken. We would not have been willing to contemplate a serious struggle for socialism until we had tried the path of reform. We would not have learned of our failings and our errors if we had not lived through them.

When the movement began, so long ago now, when Rosa Parks sat in the "wrong" section of a bus in Montgomery, Alabama and started the chain of events from which a new Left emerged, our responses were typical of our class. We were born as a movement into a time when there was no longer a viable Left from which we could learn, no militant labor movement with which we could ally ourselves. Our errors are natural. They were inevitable. Freedom rides. Teach-ins. Confrontations. Mass rallies. Draft card burnings. Sit-downs, sit-ins, be-ins. Yellow submarines and terror bombing.

But I believe that from all that has gone down we have learned. We learned it is not enough to give blacks the right to eat in the best restaurant in Atlanta if they don't have the money to pay for the meal. We learned racism is at least as deeply rooted in the North as in the South. We learned that the Peace Corps is not enough. That liberalism, far from being a solution, was *part* of the problem. (Not the "main enemy"—simply part of the problem.) We set out in 1955 to reform our structures. We looked to Ralph Nader and Eugene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy—and Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, and Malcom X. Twenty years have past and if the agony of those two decades teaches us anything it should not be to retreat, but to regroup for much more fundamental change than we had thought necessary.

It is with that question I want to deal in the second part of this article. To take up the question of whether a serious American Left can be created, and, if so, what steps must now be taken and what role those of us who are pacifists have in helping to create a movement that would be able to do more than protest against Rockefeller—that would be able to confiscate the wealth and power of his class and lay the foundations for a new America.

TO BE CONTINUED IN SEPTEMBER

HARD TIMES

SOME INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

BY David Barrett

Cartoon from NACLA.

To the extent that a discussion of hard times focuses narrowly on the situation of people in this country, an essential aspect of what has been occurring is lost. It means that the full effects of hard times—including the interrrelation between economic conditions and world conflict—are not recognized.

It's apparent Americans have little recognition how much the US economy is part of an interdependent world economy. Once in a while something happens to make the point, like the effect increases in the price of imported oil is having on the operation of the economy. But that merely hints at the dimensions of the situation.

At the same time that recession has occurred here there have been hard times all over the world. Certain third world countries have been particularly hard hit, and it has taken especially painful forms, such as the famines in Central Africa and Bangladesh. Developing countries have been in a frustrating position because many are dependent on their relations with the developed nations and thus have little strength in negotiation. It is that kind of economic frustration that causes—is causing—conflict. Because of the interrelations between economies in today's world, these conflicts constantly threaten to escalate. Often radical solutions are required to solve economic problems, but it is the frustration that causes change to take unnecessarily violent forms.

At the United Nations these days—and in a number of UN specialized agencies (especially the UN Industrial Development Organization and the UN Conference on Trade and Development), and UN sponsored conferences—the direction of discussion on economic and social issues has taken a revolutionary turn.

Analysis of the antecedents of the current situation can be paraphrased: The vast majority of current member nations were formerly colonies. They were treated primarily as suppliers of low-cost raw materials, and as markets for surpluses of a number of relatively developed nations. With their independence since World War II, they have achieved autonomous governments, but their economies frequently continued to serve the same functions for developed nations that they had before—sometimes shifting dependence from one developed nation to another. The result is that they continue to receive a low portion of the income that results from their contributions to world production, both for the raw materials obtained from them and for the services of the workers from these countries.

The chronic poverty in third world countries is attributed primarily to this situation, and the governments of these nations (despite earlier concern about antagonizing the developed nations on which there is heavy dependence) are increasingly making the point. That is in part because increasingly they are feeling

---

David Barrett currently teaches economics at SUNY New Paltz. He has had UN assignments in New York and overseas.

pressures from opposition groups within their own countries.

Developed nations, expressing concern about the poverty of third world countries, have, over the years, discussed how more aid might be given to them—including aid aimed at building up their productivity. But where increased productivity has centered on expanded output of raw materials—and it usually has—there has not been an increase in returns to the peoples of those countries.

Increasingly the developing countries are making the point that if they were receiving something near to an appropriate amount for what they contribute to world industrial production, and if they did not have to pay such high prices for what they needed to buy from the industrialized parts of the world, they could do much more for themselves, and would not need aid. The slogan "Trade-Not-Aid" is widely used.

The analogy is made to the situation of farmers in this country whose economic condition was quite bad until the US government stepped in to assure that the prices they received for their contribution to production was commensurate with the prices they had to pay for the goods they needed to buy. This required government controlled parity-pricing. Whereas before US farmers had constantly to be helped, they are now able to take care of themselves well. Indeed they are in a position to add to demand for manufactured goods, and thus to strengthen the industrial part of the economy. Further, US farmers have developed a capacity to produce, which is an invaluable asset to the US, and indeed, the world economy—due particularly to their high income, and thus their high investment levels. In the past, US agricultural prices were among the few prices determined by market forces, whereas industrial goods were priced by oligopolistic groups in a position to manage prices. In effect, agricultural prices were now also taken out of the market category, whenever they dropped below specified levels—and thus monopolistic factors were introduced in that sector as well. There are serious shortcomings to this solution: many farmers who have not been in need of government support have profited from this legisaltion. And in the case of labor, wage determination was also taken out of the market place, and monopolistic forces were introduced as a union bargained for all workers in an industry. The wage situation improved greatly. However profiteering has gone on. And the worker tends to look at his narrow interests, not that of needy deserving people in general—neither his unemployed, of non-union colleagues, nor the workers of other nations.

In effect, the developed parts of the world have been able to achieve high levels of growth and prosperity by keeping down to low levels the share that those in developing countries received. It comes as a surprise to most Americans to discover the extent to which the success of our economy is a result of the low compensation we have given to our partners in the production process—and it is important to understand the point well, in order to define the dimensions of the problem and the kinds of remedies that are needed. Strengthening the economies of developing countries, both in productivity and in purchasing power, would be of value to the world economy.

There has been an urgent effort to do something through the UN about the situation. The oil countries, and their campaign for oil prices at levels much greater than they have received over past years, are integrated into that effort. Other developing countries see them as making the first breakthrough in a campaign focused on higher prices for raw materials, a just price determined by the relative prices of industrial goods. The prices of manufactured goods determines both the needs for foreign exchange of raw material, and the capacity of manufacturers to pay for raw materials.

A major element in the situation is the part played by multinational corporations. Discussions of major economic issues in the US have tended to focus on the economic (and political) power centered in the great conglomerates, and their disregard for the effects their policies were having on inflation (their tendency to pass on, and exaggerate increases in costs—retaining and expanding large profits), the coexistence of high profits and unemployment, their contribution to pollution and to wasting natural resources, and their effects on distribution of income.

The term "multinational" suggests the dimensions of the problems that should be added to the above list. These firms shift the locus of their production to where they can obtain cheaper labor, good tax benefits, etc. Another basis for attack on the multinationals has been their involvement in production and sale of military equipment to developing countries. This has political overtones, linked to accusations that developed countries have assured that those in power in such countries were those friendly to them.

Critics of the role of developed countries in third world nations over recent years assert that the whole population of developed nations share in the benefits from exploitation of the poorer developing nations. Thus workers in US firms will argue for protection of their firms from the competition of foreign firms using cheap labor, and also will try to protect their firms in an effort to augment the incomes of the developed nation at the cost of the third world.

The problems of unemployment in this country—the special problems of blacks, women, youth, Puerto-Ricans and Chicanos, etc., in the labor market, the problems of inflation, pollution, waste, etc.—are seen as problems of a country which is earning a highly disproportionate part of the income resulting from world production, but which has not even worked through the problem of fair distribution within the nation. The problems of food shortage, of population growth, of widespread deep chronic poverty, are primarily the problems of the developing nation.

Workers in both developed and third-world nations have had certain parallels in their attacks on multinational corporations. In both instances they see themselves regarded as disposable, as an input cost that should be kept at a minimum figure. The multinational itself feels the pressure to keep costs down and to avoid employment of people when production does not justify it. Some in the labor movement believe that they cannot formulate adequate union policies if

they do not take into consideration the situation of workers in poorer countries who both compete with them, and share their problems.

The multinationals have pointed out the role they play in introducing industry into countries and regions in which industrialization was lagging, and that only such resources as the multinationals provide were capable of getting things underway. The result is that opportunities open for the impoverished in those countries—opportunities which might not otherwise appear for many years ahead. In response, the critic of the multinationals asks whether the well-being of people of these countries cannot be better served. Should they not have more say in what is occurring to and for them? Is the multinational truly the most effective way of achieving what they are accomplishing? Don't they introduce negative features that could successfully be avoided?

If something is done to deal with the problems of the developing nations—it can mean more inflationary pressures in the US and elsewhere in the developed world, it may mean more danger of recession as firms respond to higher input prices, some raising the prices of their products (thus reducing consumption), others moving out of the US to less developed nations. Yet the target can and should be channelling production toward meeting both the immediate food needs and the developmental needs of developing countries—and this can have a highly stimulating effect on the economies of developed land, if effectively managed. A switch from military to economic spending can be an enormous boost to the development of developing countries and a great reduction of waste; the point is often made but intense effort is needed to accomplish steps in that direction.

There is one major addendum required to the above: if the situation of developing nations changes and they receive more for their products and pay less for what they must buy, that does not automatically rebound to the benefit of the ordinary man in those countries. We are familiar with the widespread existence of leaders who channel new benefits to the few, including themselves. A significant step has been taken if the foreign exploiters leave the scene, and attention can focus on domestic figures in leadership positions. A complication is that those who are domestic exploiters may feel the need to take advantage of the fact that they control natural resources production, labor, and perhaps some initial processing industries. This is merely to suggest how important it is to keep the full dimension of the problem in mind.

The problem can be put this way: There is worldwide sharing of these hard times, with heavier impact on the third world countries, and with widespread evidence that the causes are international, the economies are interdependent. The world has the potentiality to cope—given the capacities of world resources, and the state of technology that exists. But that calls for finding means of sharing the technology widely, and collaborating in the process of organizing and implementing the progress of expanding productivity. Planning is going on—but through the multinationals, almost surely not the perspective for the long run objectives to be served, particularly in dealing with worldwide recession, inflation, poverty. The UN's effort to deal with the problem—to try to develop a New International Economic Order (the term in use in discussion of these issues)—ought to be commended and encouraged.

WHO WERE THE LUDDITES ?

An Open Letter to Sam Lovejoy

Dear Sam:

I was glad to hear your talk some time ago at Dartmouth College where I teach, and I agreed with much of what you had to say. Of course I had already heard about your feat in bringing down the weather tower that was put up to help plan for an atomic power station in your town. And I knew that you turned yourself in to the police afterwards, that you were tried on felony charges for destruction of property and that you were acquitted on a technicality. You must have done a fine educational job on the judge, the jury and the community. Congratulations!

But there was one thing you said which saddened me. (I wanted to tell you about it at the time, but it was pretty hard to get in a word.) That was when someone asked if you thought the right approach was to get rid of technology itself; to live without using any electric power at all, for example. Your answer, as best I can remember, was about like this:

"Hell no—I'm no Luddite!"

Sam, I think that a Luddite is just what you really are. That is not meant to be a put-down; on the contrary. The Luddites have gotten a bad press over the years (mostly written by their enemies), but the fact is they were far from being a bunch of fools blindly opposed to progress. They were workers who fought against *a certain kind* of technology, one that was being introduced in an anti-human way. They went so far as *to destroy property* which was contributing to the oppression of their class. Not a few of them were executed for this crime. They may have been misguided in their strategy, and they certainly made many mistakes. But there is no valid reason for present-day radicals to be so quick to deny any sympathy for them.

No one knows for sure just who the fabulous "Ned Ludd" really was, but the name "Luddite" goes back to the period from 1811 to about 1816 in the English Midlands. This was a very hard time for workers in the textile trades. Business was bad (due in large part to foreign wars), wages were low when work could be found at all, and food prices were sky high. The suffering of working-class families was apparent even to the authorities of the day. Moreover, almost any form of workers' organization or trade union activity was illegal and the penalties were severe. On top of all this came the elimination of many jobs when unscrupulous manufacturers tried to cut costs even further by introducing new "labor-saving" machinery into their mills.

Some sort of rebellion was inevitable—and was urgently needed. Since all lawful avenues had been blocked by the government, the movement had to be an illegal one. Breaking up some of the new machinery was one of the forms the rebellion took; it is only this feature which is commonly remembered.

What did the Luddites want? Some historians think their goals were limited to immediate relief: more work, decent pay and lower prices. Their rebellion, in other words, was a form of trade-union activity; it was "collective bargaining by riot." But others believe that at least some of the Luddites had really revolutionary aims. (Many contemporaries on the establishment side believed in a revolutionary conspiracy—even going so far as to claim it was all financed with French gold!) In any case, without question the Luddite movement had the support of nearly all working-class people in the affected areas. There are many stories showing how magistrates and army officers sent to suppress the outbreaks were regarded as enemies—in much the same way as Americans in South Vietnam. One notorious owner (not a little one) was often driven into frenzies by small children who would run after his horse calling "I'm General Ludd! I'm General Ludd!"

There were very many troops stationed throughout the countryside during this period; the soldiers had to be frequently changed and their officers constantly on the alert in order to prevent them from becoming sympathetic to the people's cause. One particular case stands out. On April 11, 1812, Luddites attempted a major attack on a mill at Rawfolds in Yorkshire, seeking to destroy some of its new machinery and to intimidate other manufacturers. The attack failed, for the mill was strongly defended by its owner and a body of soldiers; two of the attackers were killed and others wounded. During the battle, one of the defenders was seen to be not firing his weapon. The owner, Cartwright, asked him why. "Because I might hit some of my brothers!" was the proud answer.

The price of such defiance was not cheap. The soldier who refused to shoot his class brothers was sentenced by court martial to 300 lashes; that is, to be flogged to death. (In fact, the sentence was not carried out to its finish, for the sympathy of the populace and a plea for clemency by Cartwright himself combined to save his life.) Surely that nameless private has a claim on our respect and admiration for his example of decency and courage; he too was a Luddite.

In 1812, Parliament acted decisively to solve the problem: a Bill was passed providing the death penalty for machine-breaking. One of the few to oppose this exemplary measure was the poet Lord Byron. His speech to the House of Lords against the Bill makes good reading today.

Well, Sam, there is a lot more that could be said, but I'm sure you see my point. The Luddites were defeated, both by a bloody repression and by improved post-war conditions for the textile trade which relieved the general suffering and desperation. Whether they achieved anything concrete is debatable. Resisting the inhumane use of technology was an important feature of their movement, but it was not its goal. And of course the introduction of the new machinery was not stopped; it was hardly even delayed for long.

And yet there is a lot we can learn from them. I think it is clear that they have their place—and an honorable one—in our revolutionary heritage. When you destroyed that tower, you weren't opposing "progress" or "science" as such—you were acting against the *misuse* of science for short-term advantage, counter to the real needs of most people. That's *just* what the Luddites were doing.

Your kinship to the original Luddites is for real, whether you recognize it or not. I think if you take the time to get better acquainted with your brothers, you may find that the relationship is one of which you can be proud.

With best wishes,

John Lamperti

PS. If you do want to know more, a good place to look is in E.P. Thompson's monumental book *The Making of the English Working Class* (Pelican, 1968).

CHANGES

JOAN LITTLE TRIAL RESUMES

The trial of Joan Little resumed today with the acceptance of what may prove to be key prosecution evidence contained in writings and marginal notes made by Miss Little while in the Beaufort County jail before the slaying of the night jailer, Clarence T. Alligood.

Later, the prosecution laid the groundwork for presentation of evidence by the state crime laboratory technicians about the sites of stab wounds in the chest of Mr. Alligood and corresponding bloodstains on his outer shirt and undershirt.

Both matters are considered important to the prosecution, the writings because they are believed to indicate that Ms. Little expected to be out of the jail soon and the laboratory evidence because it may help to demonstrate the position of Mr. Alligood's clothing when he was stabbed.

The prosecution will argue that Ms. Little lured the 62-year-old jailer into the cell and killed him in an escape attempt. She contends that she killed him in self-defense in the course of a sexual assault.

WIN correspondent Nick DiSpoldo, disturbed by the unscientific references to the sperm on Alligood's thighs, called Durham County Medical Examiner Russell Perry for an interview with the hope of getting an expert opinion about Alligood's orgasm. Dispoldo reports:

I took the autopsy report with me and gradually steered the conversation around to Joan Little's case. Her trial is being conducted in Raleigh, only 30 miles from Durham, and it is a subject of intense local controversy.

Dr. Perry, Cracker Extraordinaire, reluctantly confirmed that sperm in the anterior urethra means that Alligood had an orgasm in that cell.

"But," he added, "you know, ah got mah own theory. Ah think he been fuckin' that niggah gal for at least a few nights afore she stabbed him."

I pressed Perry as to what makes him think that but he shrugged, "Jest mah own theory." —News Desk

SOSTRE SUES THE STATE

Political prisoner, Martin Sostre, was recently transferred to the federal detention center in New York City since the federal courts considered his life to be endangered by the officials in the New York state prison system. Sostre is suing parts of the state prison system for redress and release on the basis of their past treatment of him.

—MEM

FORD BOARD MEMBER SWITCHES TO AMNESTY

Vernon Jordan Jr., a member of Ford's clemency board, on July 27—as a consequence of his firsthand experience on that board—issued a statement saying: "I call for complete, immediate, universal and unconditional amnesty."

Jordan explained that his new position on this issue is "the result of my experience on the Presidential clemency board, an experience that brought home to me the full unfairness of the treatment accorded to the different categories of people caught in the snares of our system of military justice."

He concluded: "President Ford, who was compassionate enough to pardon Richard Nixon, should also be compassionate enough to pardon those who were right about an evil war and those whose service for their country has resulted in the unfair lifelong punishment of a bad discharge."

Jordan included this statement in his keynote speech to the 65th annual convention, in Atlanta, of the Urban League, of which he is executive director. He has declined to participate in the Ford-board's recent deliberations. —Jim Peck

ATTN. BACH MAI CONTRIBUTORS

WIN [7/24/75] carried a brief in CHANGES stating that IRS had withdrawn tax exemption from Bach Mai Hospital Emergency Relief Fund. On July 21, the Boston office of IRS notified the Fund that the ruling "has been recalled by the national office for further consideration." That means that Bach Mai Hospital Emergency Relief Fund remains tax deductible. The original IRS ruling had been denounced as discriminatory. —Jim Peck

RUMBLINGS AT THE WORLD FUTURE SOCIETY

The World Future Society, "An Association for the Study of Alternative Futures," held its Second General Assembly from June 2-5 in Washington, DC. Given the theme "The Next Twenty-Five Years: Crisis and Opportunity," the Assembly attracted over 2000 of its 16,000 members to the Washington Hilton. The Assembly was carefully structured in advance according to the model of a professional association, with presentations by speakers before plenary sessions and a multitude of specialized panels. But the Assembly began to unravel within a day of its opening under the pressure of those dissatisfied with both its process and content. The nature of that dissatisfication is important not only to the Society, but significant in highlighting one line of division in America as a whole around the issue of who is to be in charge of the future.

The immediate point of contention was raised by Wilma Scott Heide, presently Vice President of the Women's Coalition for the Third Century, who pointed out that all fifteen of the speakers chosen by the Society to address the three plenary sessions were white, male, Americans, and there were only a relatively small proportion of women and minority groups represented among the panel members. Caucusing went on that day among women and men angered by this fact, with the result that two women were placed on a plenary session scheduled for the following day.

What was at stake within the Assembly, symbolically reflecting a division in the country at large, was two broad views of the future. The first—the way the Assembly was arranged—holds the future to be in control of those who control the present; the future is to be pre-packaged, prestructured, and presented for the many according to the values and biases of the few. The second vision, one which I believe was reflected by the majority of those attending the Assembly, sees the future as open-ended, democratic, pluralistic, creative—not necessarily unplanned or unstructured, but flexibly planned with full participation by peoples representing a variety of national, racial, and sexual values. This vision does find its place in the Society, especially through the activities of its more than 20 local chapters in cities in this country and abroad, yet when it came time to prepare the Assembly, it was the first viewpoint which predominated. The Society stresses that it is itself neutral and non-partisan regarding futuristic issues, but it must be sensitive to the fact that the way it is structured may alone proclaim a political stance in favor of "safe" futures. In short, it has now become the "crisis and opportunity" of the World Future Society to visibly demonstrate in the manner in which it conducts its business that it is truly committed to the dissemination of information about alternative futures.

—Dennis Livingston

PERON DROPS LOPEZ REGA FROM GOV'T, BUT HER RIGHT-WING FOLLOWERS REMAIN

Argentina's President Isabel Peron gave in to enormous pressure July 11 from organized labor, left-wing guerillas and the army and dropped her top advisor, Jose Lopez Rega, from her new cabinet.

But the removal of Lopez Rega, an extreme right-winger who served as Social Welfare Minister and as Peron's private secretary, appears to be no more than a symbolic gesture to appease the opposition.

The new 8-man cabinet is dominated by politicians close to Lopez Rega and is expected to follow his same right-wing policies, including the economic austerity measures that sparked the current crisis in Argentina and forced the entire cabinet to resign on Sunday, July 6.

These austerity measures, which Rodrigo called a "shock treatment" for the Argentine economy, have been denounced by the noramlly pro-government General Labor Confederation (CGT). Conservative union officials had their hands full throughout June trying to suppress wildcat strikes against the new policies. Pressured by their militant rank and file, the CGT finally called a demonstration of 50,000 in front of the presidential palace in Buenos Aires on June 27.

A general strike which paralyzed the country was organized a week and a half later to demand that Peron permit negotiated wage increases which she had previously said she would not respect. Peron gave in to the strikers' demands and agreed to the wage hikes, but her decision to keep the same Minister of the Economy is likely to anger Militant workers once again.

Lopez Riga, who said he was stepping down as a "patriotic gesture to help pacify the perturbed spirits," has been Peron's closest advisor throughout her first year in office, and has wielded great power in the government.

Recent Argentine newspaper reports, and charges by legislators, have linked him to a right-wing terrorist group called the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) which has assassinated over 200 people in the last year.

The AAA has denounced those it threatens with death as "marxists and judaizers." The press close to Lopez Riga has flaunted slightly altered swastikas, and the government television station has run a series of Nazi war films. Lopez Riga is also a frequent visitor to Brazil where a right-wing military junta has been in power since 1964.

The militant labor movement and the left and left Peronist guerrilla movements, have opposed Lopez Riga for some time. But even the army recently counseled Peron that her advisor was too controversial a figure to safely keep on in a high government post. —LNS

A PLAN TO MAKE ELECTRICITY WITH H-BOMBS IS DROPPED

The Federal Government has given up a plan to create electricity by exploding hydrogen bombs in abandoned salt mines in Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and the Gulf of Mexico because the program would be too expensive, according to representative Frederick W. Richmond.

The Brooklyn Democrat, who announced the plans by the Energy Research and Devleopment Administration last April 17, said that the agency had informed him by letter of its intention to drop the plan.

He said that Maj. Ernest Graves, director of military application for the agency, said "Due to funding limitations, [ERDA] has no plans at this time to continue its study of the Pacer Fusion Energy Concept."

—WIN Nukes Bureau

AIM FBI INFORMER SURFACES

The identity of an FBI informer in the American Indian Movement (AIM) was revealed in mid-July. Bernie Morning Gun, recruited as an FBI informer in 1973, spoke at a conference of Indian youth held at Caroll College in Montana about his work for the FBI and warned Indian youth about FBI methods of recruitment.

When he was first recruited, he was asked to identify Indians who had provided support for the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan in the fall of 1972. This spring he was told to go to Sioux Falls and infiltrate the defense committee of a particular case. He was told to gather information on the committee's strategy and funding sources, and to infiltrate national AIM to find out about European travel, Dennis Banks and Vernon Bellecourt's sources of funds in Europe, and whether AIM was getting guns in Europe. He was also told, he said, to provoke violence when possible to discredit AIM.

Morning Gun spoke of FBI recruitment procedures for informants. The top ten and other members of the graduating class of the Inter-Mountain Indian School at Brigham City, Utah are approached regularly, he said. He also stated that FBI informants are sometimes paid through BIA programs, so that money doesn't appear to come from the FBI.

Vernon Bellecourt announced that AIM is declaring a 30-day amnesty for Indian people working for the FBI. "For all who come back to their brothers and sisters and tell AIM the details of what they did and how they were recruited there is amnesty for them."

"There will be no amnesty for those who participated in assassination attempts, shootings and other physical harms to Indian people," he said.

—LNS

CONGRESS APPROVES BUILDUP IN INDIAN OCEAN

A five-year debate in Congress apparently ended July 29 with a Senate vote rejecting a resolution by Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield that would have blocked funds for expansion of US naval facilities on Diego Garcia, the first US military base in the Indian Ocean. The Navy is now free to proceed with construction of port facilities to handle an aircraft carrier task force and nuclear submarines, and a 12,000-foot runway that could handle B-52s.

The Pentagon contends that the Diego Garcia expansion is necessary to maintain a military balance in the Indian Ocean with the Soviet Union. Senate Armed Services Committee chairman John Stennis termed the base an "absolute necessity," and the *New York Times* said it was "worth the relatively modest expenditure."

Critics maintain, however, that the $30 million in planned construction on the island is only the top of a $10 billion Pentagon iceberg which will be requested to build a permanent Indian Ocean fleet. They also warn that a US build-up in the highly volatile and unstable Indian Ocean region could lead to Vietnam-type interventions. This was given credence by the Pentagon itself, which told Congress last year that the US has vital interests in oil and other raw materials in that area, adding that the US role would be "just like the policeman on the beat who deters crime just by being there." The "crimes" to be deterred apparently include unfriendly changes of government in any of the African, Middle Eastern, South or Southeast Asian nations bordering on the Indian Ocean. —Internews

Reviews

TO BE AN ARAB IN ISRAEL

Fouzi el-Asmar / Frances Pinter, 161 West End Lane, London / Forward by I.F. Stone / Introduction by Uri Davis / 208 pp.

To be an Arab in Israel is to live deprived of the basic human and civil rights, constantly humiliated and harassed. This is the message revealed to the reader of Fouzi el-Asmar's outstanding book, **To be an Arab in Israel.** In his shocking and depressing autobiography, el-Asmar illustrates in the most sincere and humane way the horrible experience which a Palestinian Arab faces in Israel, while his, or her, only "crime" has been to be born an Arab in Palestine, and to have remained there after the establishment of the Zionist state.

El-Asmar, is a well known Palestinian poet and journalist. He was born in Haifa in 1938, to a family that had been living in the country for at least 18 generations. He spent his childhood in the cities of Jaffa and Lydda. From the age of 10, he started to experience the taste of living as an Arab under Israeli rule. As a young child, he saw his own people brutally expelled from their homes by the Zionist armed forces, and become, what is known today as the Palestinian refugees. El-Asmar's immediate family, like a number of other Arab families in Lydda, was not expelled, but rather remained living in the "Arab ghetto," due to his father's job at that time as a railroad employee. But despite the good feeling of not being forced to leave their home in occupied Palestine, remaining there could hardly be considered a treat. Constant discrimination, humiliation and terrorization was the price they, and other Arabs, immediately had to pay.

Already as a young child, el-Asmar felt what it mean to be caught committing an "illegal" action. . .picking figs from the tree which used to belong to his family until the Zionist invasion. In school, being forced to sing the Israeli anthem, coupled with intentionally degrading Arab history and heritage, reflected by the attitude of the new Hebrew teachers as well as from the material provided by the ministry of education, brought a tremendous agony and anger to young el-Asmar. An addition to this feeling was caused by the constant searches in his family residence by the authorities, the arrest of his parents, and the eventual loss of his father's job for no proper reason other than voting for the "wrong" party—the Zionist left oriented Mapam party. In order to avoid troubles, he was required to change his name to a Hebrew one, while working as a labourer on a kibbutz, which just increased his conviction that something must be done.

In Haifa, where he later moved to continue his secondary education, he discovered, among other things, that an ad in the newspaper which announces an open employment position, does not really refer to Arabs. Nor does an ad announcing a flat for rent. When applying to the Technion (Haifa Institute of Technology), he discovered that only in certain departments is an Arab allowed to study, the other departments are exclusively for Jewish students.

El-Asmar decided to resort to writing. He moved to Tel-Aviv where he received a job in an Arabic newspaper. He was quite successful in his new job, but his refusal to join the Jewish-Zionist party to which the paper belonged, cost him the job. As a concerned Israeli Arab, he joined with other Arabs, and attempted to organize the party al-'Ard (the land) which would represent the Arab community in Israel, and deal with its social, economic and political difficulties. No other Arab party has ever been in existence in Israel, and the only political party in which Arabs have been treated as equals has been the communist party. But this attempt failed, after "legal" maneuvers on the part of the authorities, such as exiling its supporters, and not allowing the party to run in the "democratic" parliamentary elections.

El-Asmar continued writing, in attempt to voice his people's cry for normal humane and civil treatment: the end of confiscation of Arab land, the abolishment of the British emergency regulations, etc. But the more concerned and devoted he was for the cause of justice, the more troubles he brought on himself. He even found it to be true while working as the editor of the Arabic weekly *Hada al-'Alam*, along with its mother paper, *ha-'Olam ha-Ze*, published by Uri Avneri. After establishing his own publishing house, he found himself in a direct confrontation with the authorities, which resulted in the confiscation of his notes and other material.

A new chapter in his life opened when he decided to publish his first poetry book, *The Promised Land*. But poetry can reveal very important security secrets, or so at least thought the censor. As a result, the publication of whole poems, certain lines, words, and even punctuation marks were prohibited. Nevertheless, el-Asmar went along and published the material which the censor did approve. Shortly after, as an obvious result of its publication, with no proper reason, he was arrested and put in jail where he spent 15 months. No charges have ever been brought against him, and no trial has ever taken place. The authorities were allowed "legally" to do so by using the colonial British mandatory emergency regulations which allow a military officer to jail citizens for unlimited periods of time with no specific reasons.

While under arrest, el-Asmar learned what beating and torturing during interrogation in an Israeli prison meant. A number of times he was offered passage to leave the country, but he repeatedly refused to accept. Not even the kidnapping of his sister and brother from Cyprus by the authorities, and the eventual arrest of his brother brought his spirit to its knees. Indeed, while in prison, he was one of the organizers of a series of hunger strikes which took place simultaneously among the political prisoners in different prisons throughout the country and which were internationally publicized.

El-Asmar was later transferred to Lydda, although a resident of Tel-Aviv by that time, and was not allowed to leave the town without a proper permission obtained from the local police, to which he was required to report daily. All, without any charges or trial. After a year in Lydda he was invited by friends to the US for a lecture tour from which he has yet to return home.

As a result of his experience, one might expect to find in el-Asmar a great amount of hatred towards Israeli Jews and Jews in general. But this is not so. Indeed, a great number of his friends are Jews and Israelis. People such as Sarit, Uri Davis, Haim Hanegbi, Israel Shahak and many others have, for a long time, stood behind his (their) struggle for justice and humanity, and are highly praised by him. He even devotes a whole chapter in the book to a right wing parliament member in Israel, and despite their major ideological and political differences, describes him as "a human being," after a long acquaintance.

No unexpectedly, el-Asmar's experience would lead him to a search as to what is the cause, and where are the roots of the tragedy which his people, including himself, have been exposed to. Rightly so, he arrives at the conclusion that the problem is rooted in the exclusivist-racist Zionist ideology, and its plantation in Palestine. By definition, Israel as a Jewish state would always be a racist one, and therefore, the de-Zionization of the country is a must.

El-Asmar is lead to this conclusion through a painful experience of what Zionism is all about. Uri Davis arrives at the same conclusion in his impressive introduction to the book. Davis, in an artistic presentation, completes the picture, and in analyzing some of the more important symbols of the Jewish state, i.e. the Israeli anthem *Hatikva* (the hope), and the popular song *Jerusalem of Gold*, illustrates the essential Zionist thinking—an exclusivist-racist Jewish society in Palestine, with complete disregard for its Arab inhabitants.

It is rather symbolic to find both, a Hebrew (Israeli Jew) Uri Davis and a Palestinian Arab, Fouzi el-Asmar, combining their efforts to produce this book. Both are strong believers in the eventual bi-national, i.e., Hebrew Palestinian, society in Palestine as the solution to this tragic dispute, a goal which can be achieved by the constant cooperation between the left oriented forces within both peoples.

Including the fair forword by I.F. Stone, one must conclude that el-Asmar's painful autobiographical account is more than just an autobiography. It is an important historic-socio-economic and political chapter and document of a whole segment of the Palestinian people who remained in Palestine after the establishment of the state of Israel It is not only the story of the Arab intellectual Fouzi el-Asmar, but also of the ill-treated Palestinian Arab community in Israel. Despite the numerous printing mistakes, the book is a must by any one concerned with the question of peace and war in the Middle East.

—Nadav Katz

LOVEJOY'S NUCLEAR WAR

60 minute color film. Rental: $50 or 50% of gross receipts, whichever is higher. Also available for purchase. Contact: Green Mountain Post Films, Box 269, RFD No. 1, Montague, Massachusetts 01351, tel. 413-863-4754 or 413-367-9374.

Sam Lovejoy is the young organic farmer who toppled a 500 foot weather-tower in Montague, Massachusetts on Washington's birthday in 1974. Northeast Utilities had erected the tower to help plan a nuclear power plant and Lovejoy toppled it because he believes nuclear power plants are dangerous. Dr. John Gorman, who once worked for the Atomic Energy Commission, is one of a number of respected nuclear scientists who have doubts about the safety of nuclear power. In the film Gorman argues that Lovejoy's action was justified since a nuclear power plant is a "threat to a man's personal life, to his family, to his land, and all that he holds dear."

Lovejoy's Nuclear War is a lively account of Sam Lovejoy's personal struggle, of the reaction of the townspeople, and of Lovejoy's trial. At the same time the film explores the entire nuclear power controversy in an interesting and enlightening way. The thing that struck me most about the film is the sensetive way Lovejoy dealt with his neighbors. Lovejoy is the radical equivalent of a good politician. So it comes as no surprise when the judge lets him off on a technicality or when the jurors interviewed after the trial tell us they were leaning toward acquittal.

Another reason I liked the film was the absence of the B-cowboy-movie mentality that mars so many radical films and so much radical writing. Neither the Northeast Utilities executives nor hostile townspeople are made to wear black hats. Instead, they are treated as respected opponents and allowed to speak their minds.

Lovejoy's Nuclear War is an excellent introduction to the practice of civil disobedience and to the nuclear power controversy. One advantage of the film is that it shows that civil disobedience is relevant to areas where it has hardly been tried. The film is well suited for either class-room use or as a fund-raiser for movement groups.

—Henry Bass

THE BANKERS

Martin Meyer / New York / Weybright & Talley / ca. 550 pp. / $15.00

Martin Meyer begins this racy tome with the observation that since 1960 a subsurface revolution has transformed the world of banking and that bankers themselves have yet to realize its nature. Whereupon, having hooked the innocent reader, Mayer tells the story of banking from its obscure beginnings among Italian moneylenders (not goldsmiths, he claims) down through the American Civil War.

Characteristic of Meyer's method of writing bestsellers is that this 50-page resume of banking history is a minor masterpiece of condensation and clarity, but turns out to bear no relation to the question it was billed to answer. The "revolution" transforming banking turns out to be merely a matter of banks now engaging directly in financial operations which heretofore were the province of shady characters like loansharks and stockbrokers. Turns out, in short, to be no revolution at all. As R.H. Tawney demonstrated in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1922), a purely mercenary motivation has become not only more reputable in Western civilization with each passing generation, but more the essense *of* that civilization. What Martin Meyer demonstrates is that the process didn't stop in 1922 but rather has accelerated, especially since 1960.

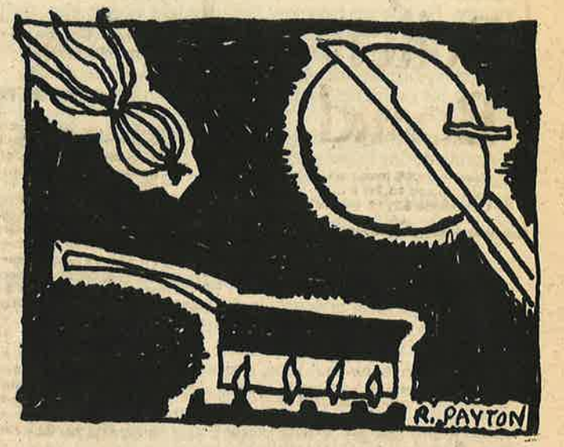
Toward the middle of his tome, after a couple hundred pages likely to bore outsiders to the banking world (anecdotes, old school ties, etc.) Meyer recaptured my flagging interest with a bold statement that the entire banking system is heading for the rocks. Why? After sifting through 100 subsequent pages of technical innovations, the rocks which threaten banking turn out merely to be the danger that sheer paperwork volume, especially the number of checks to be cleared, will overwhelm the pace of technical innovation and swamp the system.

Up to this point (about page 350) the main attraction of the book is the ultra-clear exposition which Meyer performs for many obscure banking functions—all expounded from the viewpoint of the banker. There follows a long chapter written from the viewpoint of government agencies set up to regulate the banking industry, another from the viewpoint of the multi-level Salomon Brothers brokerage conglomerate on Wall Street, and then one of the best explications of the Eurodollor glut to be found. (But without the historical perspective provided by Rolfe and Burtle's *The Great Wheel* (1973) or, better, the works of Frenchman Jacques Rueff.)

Martin Meyer pretty well shows what's dangerous about the corner the banks have worked themselves into. His chapter on government regulation of the industry (and a separate chapter on the Federal Reserve System) implies a more pessimistic conclusion than he cares to spell out. The government is on the horns of a dilemma because too strict an application of the law, or even of common sense in curbing inflation, might "hurt the economy" and thus be politically unacceptable.

In the end, **The Bankers** emerges as not so much a report on the current state of the banking art as a how-to-do-it for persons who'd like to break into the field. Reading between the lines, one can discern the attitudes and prejudices which are indispensable—the language one must speak and the assumptions one must not question. Only once or twice does Martin Meyer allow himself open apologetics—as when he inserts an angry judgement against Allende of Chile: that Allende inflated the Chilean currency in a deliberate effort "to destroy society." The undercurrent of the book is profoundly, however, that of an apologetic for the mercenary world it so well describes. —Paul Salstrom

FOOD



David Morris spent a weekend here at the WIN farm just before leaving on a trip to India. The last night he was here, he made this curry. He'd never made it with eggplant before—that's what we happened to have in the refrigerator—but he was well pleased with the results. Usually he's made this curry with beef. (If you prefer a beef curry, substitute beef cubes for the eggplant.)

David grew up in Madras, the southernmost state of India & thus the one with the hottest climate & as a consequence the hottest food. He made the curry so hot that two of the WIN staff couldn't eat it. He kept saying he needn't have made it that hot but I'm not so sure. It seems to me that a real part of the dish is its hotness. I'm not sure it's worth making except for folks who want to eat something really hot. This recipe serves about 12.

EGGPLANT CURRY

1 onion, chopped
2 T. butter
1 eggplant cut in 3/4" cubes (skin left on)
2 handfuls mushrooms, sliced
1 potato, diced
1½ quarts buttermilk
4 T. curry powder—or to taste
6 fresh hot peppers (or dried)—also to taste
1 stick cinnamon

GARNISHES

1 onion, chopped
1 c. plain yogurt
4 bananas, chopped
3 tomatoes, chopped

Brown the onion in butter. (For beef curry also brown the cubes of beef.) Put all the ingredients together in a large pan. Simmer for at least two hours. Serve over rice, either white rice or brown rice. The garnishes are all raw, of course, with the onion in the yogurt.

David insists that the only way to eat this is with your fingers. Preferably of the right hand. He also says that the curry's even better heated up the next day. If it gets too hot, add some more buttermilk. —Mark Morris

People's Bulletin Board

Free if no $$ involved but limited to 20 words. Otherwise $2/10 words.

PUBLICATIONS

"How To Start A Neighborhood Food Cooperative And Make It Prosper," 38 pp; Food Conspiracies, 165 W. Harvey, Philadelphia, PA 19144, $1.50. Also, "Nature Centers: How To Survive In The Face Of Urban Disintegration," $10—$14.95 for cassette. For People Seeking Alternatives.

Interested in land trusts? Vegetarian cooking? Radical music? Gandhi's writings? Anarchism? Radical history? The Good-Boox Catalog has titles in all these areas, and more. It's free from Box 437-W, Boston, MA 02102.

COME FOR TO SING—a new folk music quarterly. Please write: COME FOR TO SING, c/o The Old Town School of Folk Music, 909 West Armitage Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

BAR NONE: exposes horrors of prison and beautiful elements of its inmates. Free to prisoners—Outsiders donation. PO Box 124, W. Somerville, Mass. 02144.

RECON August issue includes: Military Spending Causes Unemployment, Army Moves Nerve Gas, Witch-hunt for Navy Lesbians, book review of "Grand Strategy," and much more. Send 35¢/copy or $3/year (12 issues) to RECON, PO Box 14602, Phila., PA 19134.

PEACEWORK—Nonviolent social change news reported in lively monthly New England newsletter. Subscription $3, sample copy free. PEACEWORK, 48 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

ECSTASY, a new non-sexist erotic journal needs fiction and graphics. Write: Box 921, Half Moon Bay, CA 94019.

PRODUCTS

Women's and other political records. Willie Tyson, Meg Christian, The Human Condition, Victor Jara and others. We're an anti-capitalist, collectively run store. Bread and Roses Community Music Center, 1724 20th Street NW, Dupont Circle, Columbia (DC) 20009.

NONCOMPETITIVE GAMES for children and adults. Play together not against each other. Free catalog; Family Pastimes, RR 4 Perth, Ontario, Canada K7H3C6.

EVENTS

Radical Feminist CONFERENCE—Aug. 25-29 in York Haven, Pa. For more info, please write: A Woman's Community Planning Conference, PO Box 391964, Miami Beach, Fla. 33139.

NEAFSC: one-week conference: "A Nonviolent Society—Its Beginnings and Its Possibilities," 8/25-9/1 at Camp Indianbrook, Plymouth Union, Vermont. Write NOVA, AFSC, 48 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02139. (617-864-3150).

Gay radio in Philly every Sunday. "Amazon Country," 1-2 pm; "Sunshine Gaydream," 2-3 pm. WXPN, 88.9 FM.

OPPORTUNITIES

gay printing collective needs others to share teaching non-commercial movement printing. experimental/graphic environment—experience unnecessary—working/living 212-675-3043.

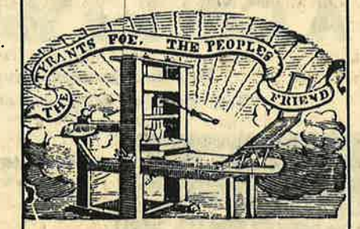
Collectively run day care center in Southern NH seeks new staff person with actual or serious potential interest in child/care. Call 603-868-5412 between July 28 and August 6 from 8:30-12—or send resume to Little People's Center, Box 542, Durham, NH. We will be interviewing Aug. 6,7 & 8.

Job opening for Alternative School Community Resources Coordinator. Funding, public relations, administrative responsibilities. Contact Craig Newby, The Alternative School, 3950 Rainbow, Kansas City, Kansas 66103 (913-236-6719).

SOURCE, a radical research collective, needs full-time staff interested in political change, hard, meaningful work, subsistence lifestyle. We especially need women now. Write Box 21066, Wash., DC 20009, (202) 387-1145.

JOB: Washington DC—Staff person is needed for the Washington Peace Center to help plan and coordinate program and involve volunteers. Opportunity for creative development of peace education program. Paid position—full time. Please contact: Victor Kaufman, 11402 Cam Court, Kensington, Maryland, 20795 (301) 942-0584 (evenings).

COMMUNE seeks people of all ages and skills who wish to dedicate themselves fully to new age of love and harmony. Call Art at: Aquarian Research (215) 849-1259.



WIN Staff Opening

We need someone right away to take responsibility for WIN's business activities—fund raising, production, etc. Preferably someone with experience either in publishing or in movement fund raising. Interest in writing, reporting, photography or artwork a plus. Country living. Movement wages. Many intangible benefits. Phone (914) 339-4585 or write Box 547, Rifton, NY 12471 telling us something about yourself.

HELP!

ANTI-WAR ANTHOLOGY—Wanted poems, songs, conscientious objector statements. Please send to Mark Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5.

MOVING THIS FALL?

Now is the time to tell us, because the next time we enter changes in the mailing list will be early in September. If you do not want to miss WIN this fall, please give us your new address in time. Love, Mary.

Old Address Label (from your most recent issue):

New Address:

Name_____

Street_____

City_____ **State**_____ **ZIP**_____

WIN PO Box 547 Rifton, NY 12471

A Gift for You

if you subscribe now to
"The liveliest magazine on the left"*

If you take
full year (4
of these in
of the Vietnam war. Published by 1st Casualty, both books examine the human dimension of what we did in Vietnam.

FREE FIRE ZONE is a collection of 24 remarkable short stories that explore, in the words of the editors, "direct violence and the subtler forms of cultural rape and pillage." Publishers price: $2.95.

WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS is a moving collection of poems written "out of fire and under fire." Publishers price: $1.95.

. . . . . .

__ Enclosed is $11 for a year's subscription. Please send me a copy of (check one):
____ FREE FIRE ZONE
____ WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS

__ Skip the subscription, just send the book(s) for their regular price. Enclosed is $ for:

____ FREE FIRE ZONE ($2.95)
____ WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS ($1.95)

__ Skip the books. Enclosed is $6 for a six month sub.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ ZIP _____

WIN * Box 547 * Rifton * NY 12471

ORDER NOW!!

Peace Literature

MORE POWER THAN WE KNOW by Dave Dellinger. Just out, is this vital book on movement tactics—past and future. (hardcover) 326 pp. $10

UNDERDOGS VERSUS UPPERDOGS by Jim Peck. Just updated through the end of the Vietnam war, is this story of nonviolent action over the years through the eyes of an active participant. (all proceeds to WRL) 120 pp. . . . . $1.50 (WIN readers who have the book can get a copy of the updated supplement *free*.)

HOME COMFORT written collectively by the members of total loss farm commune. Life on one of the more successful, long-lasting agricultural communes in New England. pp. $1.50

NEW WAVE FROM THE OLD INDIA by Khushwant Singh. Outstanding biographical article about J.P. Narayan, India's No. 1 pacifist, and the sizeable movement mobilized around him. 6 pp. . . . . 25¢

BACKGROUND TO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. The best short history of the Middle East conflict we have found. 40 pp. . . . . 50¢

THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF MODERN PACIFISM by Mulford Sibley. Hindu Christian and revolutionary secular pacifism with evaluation of five basic tenets of pacifist political philosophy. 67 pages. $1.50

AMNESTY

(With the Vietnam war finally over it's time to step up the drive for unconditional amnesty.)

AMNESTY: WHY? FOR WHOM? A complete, easy-reading pamphlet on the subject. 12 pp. . . . . 20¢

AMNESTY PACKET Ten items of vital information on the subject. $1

AMNESTY PETITION BLANKS. . . . . free

To: WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012

[ ] I enclose $_____ for items checked.
[ ] I enclose $_____ contribution to the WRL.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____ ZIP _____